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ABSTRACT

The Costerville Plans Project (Costerville being a pseudonym), sponsored by the Costerville Public Schools, Lincoln University, and the University of Pennsylvania, is concerned with the complex process of decision-making among black adolescents and with the influences of social change, counselor, teacher, and parent. The purpose of this pilot study is to examine how black secondary school students differ from their white peers in their life-planning and motivational patterns. Black and white males and females are compared on post-high school plans, occupational preference level, diversity of their occupational preferences, confidence in occupational hope, reported determinants of post-high school plans, and vocationally related concerns, interests, and values. Acceptable data were obtained for 36 black males, 47 black females, 137 white males, and 144 white females. Two instruments, the "You and Your Future" self-report inventory and the "Life Goals Inventory," were used. Black seniors, especially female, tended to choose high level occupational titles more than white seniors did. Among the total occupational preferences, black males showed the highest degree of diversification. "Material Value," "Academic Value," and "Altruistic Value" were three determinants important to all. Differences between groups on the "Life Goals" were most often a function of sex rather than race. (JM)

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BLACK AND WHITE PERSPECTIVES ON THE FUTURE[1]

Arthur A. Dole and William R. Passons

Blacks have traditionally been under-represented in colleges, many trades, and professions and over-represented in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. However, this social situation may be changing. Certain industries have begun to court black prospects. Colleges and universities are reassessing the use of traditional admissions requirements for blacks and establishing helping programs to make equal educational opportunity more than revolving door flirtations. Recently, Herson (1965) concluded that race may be diminishing in importance as a variable in occupational choice.

In recent years sweeping efforts have been made to change the status of black Americans. With these changes has evolved the need to reassess traditional forces which may bear upon the plans of black youth. For example, older studies of reported influences upon high school plans (Roe, 1956, Dole, 1961) suggest that peers have more impact than parents, school personnel, or educational procedures. Within the framework of role theory Herriott (1963) examined the level of aspiration of high school students in Western Massachusetts. He concluded that level of aspiration varies with the level of self-assessment relative to others and level of assessment perceived from significant others. As in other studies, peers were highly influential, but school counselors were also highly related to educational aspiration. A major question is whether these findings stand up under cross-validation among blacks.

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Previous studies of influence upon high school plans have not considered race as a variable. Inspection of the widely circulated Yearbook on the Disadvantaged Woody (1967) revealed little consideration of such topics as educational plans, occupational choice, or vocational opportunities. After summarizing studies on personal and sociological variables associated with the occupational choices of Negro youth, Herson remarked, "Little empirical evidence was found, however, establishing a relationship between amount and kind of guidance provided by the schools and the Negro youth's occupational choice, and it would seem that more study is needed in this area." (Herson, 1965, p.150).

Recently a few studies have been published on Negro motivation. For instance, Williams and Byars (1968) studied the relationship of self-esteem among blacks and related it to the conflicts in aspirations felt by black youth in our "transitional society". Gottlieb (1967) has investigated the motivation for becoming middle-class among black and white Job Corps youth. He questioned the myth that lower class subcultures have an inherent propensity for discouraging social mobility. A recent issue of the Journal of Social Issues (Epps, 1969) was devoted to the motivation and academic achievement of black Americans. The controversial Coleman Report on Equal Educational Opportunity, while a significant document on the effects of integration in the schools in a broad sense, was but a beginning for years of work to be conducted at local levels. (Pettigrew, 1968). However, Katz, after a critical review of the research literature concluded that "...psychologists have contributed little to the understanding of motivational problems of disadvantaged students. Scientific knowledge has barely advanced beyond the

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conventional wisdom of the teachers lounge...". (Epps, 1969, p.23).

Costerville Plans Project

The Costerville Plans Project is sponsored by the Costerville Public Schools, Lincoln University, and the University of Pennsylvania. (Costerville is a pseudonym for a small industrial city in a mid-Atlantic state.) It is concerned with the complex process of decision-making among black adolescents during a period of profound social change and with the influences of counselor, teacher, and parent.

The purpose of the present pilot study is to examine how black secondary school students differ from their white peers in their life planning and motivational patterns. Black and white males and females are compared on post-high school plans, occupational preference level, diversity of their occupational preferences, confidence in occupational hope, reported determinants of post-high school plans, and vocationally related concerns, interests and values.

METHOD

Sample

The subjects were members of the 1969 graduating class of Costerville Senior High School. Both the black and the white students had lived most of their lives in Costerville, and for the most part were the children and grandchildren of established, blue-collar families. The questionnaires were completed by 402 students. To be classified as usable the respondent, on audit, had to have completed most of the items and to have indicated membership in the black or white racial group. Of 226 girls 95% submitted usable protocols. Acceptable protocols were obtained from 196 male seniors (89%). Since males differ in major respects from females in career development, the sexes were treated separately. In sum, there were four subgroups consisting of 37 black males, 47 black females, 137 white males and 144 white females.

Instruments

Two instruments were used in the study. You and Your Future, adapted for use in Costerville from previous applications in Hawaii and California (Dole, 1961, 1964, 1969), includes 88 self-report items, tapping personal and social characteristics, post high school plans, determinants of preferred post high school plans, and occupational aspirations and expectations. Also, the instrument yields eight scale scores, measuring determinants of post high school plans and derived from previous factor analyses. (See Appendix A). Also included was the Life Goals Inventory, an open-ended measure of career attitudes and interests, which yields 29 scores. (See Appendix A). Both instruments were administered to the students in groups by Costerville Senior High School under standard procedures in June, 1969, just prior to graduation.

Data Analyses

Responses to both instruments were coded, punched on IBM cards, and treated comparatively with chi-square or simple analysis of variance to test differences

for significance. In addition supplementary analyses were made of each item and all items were factor analyzed. Results of these studies will not be reported here but will be used in the discussion section. Present comparative results should be considered as possible leads for further investigation rather than as definitive. Additional analyses are in progress as well as a replication on the 1970 graduating class.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Plans After Graduation

Since when young people leave secondary school they may follow a variety of plans (work, military service, education, etc.) within a brief time, each senior was asked to respond to each of 12 possible plans "within six months after graduation." "Go to work temporarily" was the most popular plan for all four subgroups and was endorsed by approximately four out of every ten respondents. For the white males and females "Enter a four-year college" followed in popularity. Approximately three out of every ten white respondents checked this option. In contrast, "Go to work full time permanently" was the second most popular plan for the black seniors. Of interest is that the black senior males were more interested in some form of further education, except for four-year college, than were the other subgroups. The options, "Enter a two-year college", "Enter a business or commercial school", and "Enter other schools", when combined, were endorsed by approximately half of the black male respondents. A separate analysis, treating plans after graduation as a co-variant, is in progress.

Occupational Level

The Costerville seniors were presented with a list of 93 pre-tested occupational titles. Responses to "Which one would you like to be?" were grouped for analysis according to a modification of the occupational level classification system developed by the U.S. Department of Labor (Table 1). As is typical of high school students, aspirations for white collar occupations predominated and far exceeded projected available opportunities. Somewhat more than their white peers the black Costerville seniors chose semi-professional (entertainers, athletes,) and clerical vocational goals.

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INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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To test for significance, the goals were collapsed into high level and low level categories. Of 93 occupational titles presented, 71 were checked by one or more of these students. Written responses to the option, "other" provided 33 different, additional occupational titles supplied by 47 respondents. Of the 104 different titles thus obtained, 76 were considered high level or white collar. That is, they were classified as professional, semi-professional, managerial, sales or clerical by the D.O.T.; they required considerable cognitive skill and formal education; and traditionally they have included relatively few black workers. The remaining 28 titles were categorized low level--blue collar or "apron" activities. They included skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, domestic service and

housewife classifications.

As indicated at the bottom of Table 1, the black seniors, especially the females, tended to narrow their range to the high level occupational titles more frequently than the white seniors. This avoidance of the low level, easy entry, titles may represent a new spirit on the part of these young people. A follow-up would be valuable eventually in determining whether such "high hopes" were a function of lack of appreciation of reality, defensive overaspiration, or a recognition of newly opening, real, non-traditional opportunities.

Diversity Among Occupational Preferences

Because entry into many occupations has been more restricted for blacks than for whites, diversification was selected for analysis. Diversification of occupational preference was defined as the number of different occupations chosen by a group, adjusted for the size of the group. In a group with a maximum diversification index of 1.00 each person would have selected a different occupation. In contrast, a group with low diversification would have limited its choices to a small proportion of occupations. The diversification indices for the four subgroups are reported in Table 2.

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The black males showed the highest diversification index (0.84) among the total occupational preferences. Also, a chi-square analysis revealed that the black males demonstrated a diversity among the total occupational preferences that was significantly greater than the other three subgroups.

Chi-square analyses were also used to examine diversification within and between high and low occupational levels. The data indicated that the black males, in comparison to the other subgroups, were significantly more diverse in their choices within both the high level and the low level occupations. In none of the four subgroups were significant differences noted in the extent of diversity between high and low level occupations.

In comparing whites with blacks within the sex groupings, we consider the discrepancy index as a rough, approximate measure. Because of the large discrepancies in size, it is difficult to make a precise adjustment for unequal N's. (Note that when $N > K$, the maximum possible index falls below 1.00). It may be then that the higher diversity index for black males than for other groups is some sort of artifact. We prefer to assume that it represents a real, differential response to a perceived increase across the range of opportunities. A man who has lived for years on pork and beans may be more likely to heap his plate at a smorgasbord with a little bit of everything than someone who has had a broader diet.

Confidence in Occupational Hope

The students indicated their confidence in the likelihood "That ten years from today you would actually be working in the occupation you listed above as your first choice" (Table 3). All four groups tended to give odds of 10 to 1 or

higher that they would indeed be in their occupational choice ten years after graduation. However, the black males were slightly less confident than the other groups and the black females were more frequently frank to say "I don't know". (Note that the differences between groups should be interpreted cautiously as a test of statistical significance reached only the 20 percent level of probability.) In light of follow-up studies of high school populations which indicate that fewer than one out of three actually attain stated occupational aspirations and that occupational choices are notoriously unstable among young people, it seems safe to conclude that these seniors were probably unreasonably optimistic at the time they graduated. Whether guidance programs should develop realists and dampen high hopes is another point for careful consideration and discussion. One obvious risk is that if a guidance specialist objectively presents the facts of occupational availability and the probabilities of attainment, his well intended efforts may be interpreted as prejudice, especially if the counselor is white and the student is black. A second risk is that a teacher or counselor who is consciously or unconsciously racist will misunderstand and misuse this sort of information.

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Reported Determinants

What determined the senior's next plans after graduation? Mean scores on eight determinant scales are reported in Table 4. Each scale measures the degree of importance of the determinant to immediate post high school plans. The mean scale values have been adjusted for an unequal number of items. (The results of analyses by item, factor analyses, as well as analyses of variance are available in supplementary tables.)

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The three determinants of most importance to the subjects were Material Value, Academic Value and Altruistic Value. No significant differences by race were noted among these variables. That is to say, desire to provide for oneself, identification with scholastic activities, and concern for others were not related to racial differences. As expected, females, especially the white females, had higher Altruistic Value scores, suggesting strong interests in parenthood and children.

Race Differences were noted on three of the determinants. On Conformity the blacks, especially the males, were more influenced than the whites by significant others such as parents, peers, and relatives. Consistent with this was the finding that black students of both sexes assigned significantly more importance to School Influence as represented by teachers, counselors, tests, and career days. Also, black students, particularly the males, placed significantly more importance on Humanities Interest (art and music) although it was of little relative importance.

If value determinants rather than direct influences or interests were indeed most influential in planning and if values were relatively independent of race,

there may be an important implication for those concerned with guidance. These young people may have been looking more within themselves, basing their decisions on self-defined values, rather than relying upon external influences such as school procedures or friends or on their like or dislike of a specific activity. Assuming that the value determinants were measures of internal control, then it may follow that the black seniors as well as the whites accepted the system at the time of graduation.

Life Goals Inventory

The Life Goals Inventory is an open-ended measure of concerns related to personal aims, quests, interests, values, and ambitions. Scores on each of 29 categories are assigned according to a precoded classification system and may range from 0 to 20. In assessing groups rather than individuals a mean score above 1.00 on any category is considered to reflect an important characteristic of that group. In Table 5 the mean scores on the Life Goals Inventory of the black and white seniors have been presented in approximate order of frequency. (Results of analyses of variance are reported in supplementary tables.) Each category of the Life Goals Inventory is defined in detail in Appendix A. Note that factor analyses and intercorrelations have yielded low relationships between LGI categories and determinants despite apparent similarities in content. See also Dole, 1958, on the classification of sentence completions.

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INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

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Clearly, differences between groups on the inventory were much more frequently a function of sex than of race. Differences between males and females, in general, are consistent with such differences on other measures of interest, values, and concerns and with differences in other studies in which the Life Goals Inventory or the Vocational Sentence Completion Blank has been used.

On the Life Goals Inventory each of the four subgroups of Costerville seniors stressed Recreational activities (sports, social life), Satisfaction (happiness), Other People (friends), and Achievement (success). All groups averaged approximately three on Other--that is three completions which could not be classified.

Although blacks and whites tended to respond similarly to this instrument, they did differ significantly in a few categories. The black seniors were lower on Satisfaction, more likely to Omit a response, suggesting perhaps less willingness to reveal themselves, they were more interested in Household Arts such as cooking, and they were less likely to prize Relaxation. Although very few of these seniors volunteered any interest in Scientific activity the black males and females were even less inclined in this direction than the whites.

AN INTERPRETATION

The authors presuppose a sequential working model of career development in which at crucial choice points--or transitions from one educational-vocational position to another--the influences upon the individual are multiple and complex.

In this study we have emphasized perspectives on the future reported by blacks and whites from a stable, working class, industrial community. These young people were just about to leave high school at a time of profound social change.

Confirming studies in this series of black pupils in Oakland and of Oriental Americans in Hawaii (Dole, 1961, 1969), differences in attitudes and occupational aspirations were frequently associated with sex role. Although on most variables the black seniors did not differ from their white peers when sex was controlled, they did respond distinctively in a number of respects. The black males and females showed a narrower range of occupational level than their white peers, perhaps overaspiring defensively. Compared to the white males, the black males were more diverse in their occupational choices and less confident of attaining them; they were more influenced by school procedures, and were more likely to conform to the expectations of significant others. There was a hint in some of the data that the black females looked forward to a coping role rather than to the traditional helping role.

Both black and white youngsters, like other groups at their developmental level, stressed Material, Achievement, and Recreational (fun) considerations; yet in contrast to the whites the black young men and women were less inclined toward Satisfaction and Relaxation (pursuit of happiness?) and less willing to reveal themselves. They seemed slightly more "up tight" but not militant. To generalize, perhaps they were prepared to strive for success and the good things in life through education and work, but, realistically foresaw a serious endeavor in which one must keep his cool.

On the basis of current research on black and white youth several variables seem especially promising for further study in relation to perspectives on the future. For instance, internal vs. external controls, geographic origin, socioeconomic status, exposure to models, developed abilities and skills, and family and community expectations and reinforcement patterns. Progress in educational, social and developmental psychology, in addition to clinical observation and interviews in the field, may yield additional hypotheses. Eventually they may provide sound strategies for facilitating the integration of the disadvantaged into American society. Although the times are troubled, we are at the beginning of an exciting period in educational research.

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TABLE 1

RANGE OF OCCUPATIONAL GOALS CLASSIFIED BY LEVEL

Occupational Goal	Males		Females	
Of 93 occupational titles "Which one would you most like to be?" Titles then classified by level.	% Blacks (N=37)	% Whites (N=137)	% Blacks (N=47)	% Whites (N=144)
Professional	24	22	30	37
Semi-professional	22	15	15	5
Managerial or official	8	12	2	1
Clerical or sales	--	1	21	11
Domestic, personal service, or protective	11	2	9	12
Skilled	14	19	2	1
Semi-skilled	--	3	--	3
Unskilled	--	4	--	--
Housewife	--	--	9	10
Other, don't know, no answer	21	22	12	20
Goal Classified by Level				
High level[1]	65	58	87	73
Low level	35	42	13	27

$X^2 = 15.59$,**3df

[1]Includes professional, semi-professional, managerial, clerical or sales, and other write-ins classified as above.

*p < .05
**p < .01

Costerville Project

TABLE 2

DIVERSITY[1] OF PREFERENCES AMONG OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS

Preferred Level	Males		Females		Total
	Blacks (N=37)	Whites (N=137)	Blacks (N=47)	Whites (N=144)	
High (K=76)	0.79	0.49	0.40	0.35	0.45
Low (K=24)	0.92	0.41	0.50	0.34	0.45
Total (K=104)	0.84	0.46	0.43	0.35	0.45
Chi-Square of Diversity Within High and Low Level					
High	5.81*	0.25	0.44	2.17	8.67*(3df)
Low	6.00*	----	0.16	0.89	7.05 (3df)
Chi-Square Between High and Low Level					
High vs Low	2.08	0.50	2.66	0.22	5.56 (3df)
Chi-Square By Total Occupational Preferences					
Total	12.24*	0.57	0.27	3.38	16.46**(3df)

[1]Diversity represents K/N when K=number of <u>different</u> occupations chosen by group and N=number of individuals in group. 1.00=maximum diversity.

*p > .05
**p > .01

TABLE 3

CONFIDENCE IN OCCUPATIONAL HOPE

Confidence	Males		Females	
"Suppose you are a gambler. What odds would you give that ten years from today you would actually be working in the occupation you listed above as your first choice?"	% Blacks (N=37)	% Whites (N=137)	% Blacks (N=47)	% Whites (N=144)
1000 to 1. Almost certain I will be in that occupation.	8	20	19	20
100 to 1. Highly likely that I will be in that occupation.	11	17	11	17
10 to 1. Pretty likely that I will but maybe I won't be in the occupation.	16	15	19	14
1 to 1. Odds about even. Maybe I will but maybe I won't be in the occupation.	38	23	11	23
1 in 10. Realistically it's pretty unlikely that I'll be in the occupation.	4	2	2	2
1 in 100. In fact, it's highly unlikely that I will be in the occupation.	--	4	4	2
1 in 1000. Almost certain I will not be in that occupation.	3	5	2	3
I really don't know.	11	10	26	10
No answer.	2	4	6	7

$x^2 = 21.69$ (df = 15)

TABLE 4

MEAN SCORES ON DETERMINANT SCALES

Determinant Scale	Males		Females		ANOVA		
	Blacks (N=37)	Whites (N=137)	Blacks (N=47)	Whites (N=144)	Sex	Race	SXR
Material Value	1.46	1.40	1.41	1.41	--	--	--
Academic Value	1.42	1.34	1.37	1.47	--	--	--
Altruistic Value	1.25	1.09	1.25	1.37	*	--	*
Conformity	1.29	1.03	1.08	1.08	--	*	*
Experience	0.98	0.90	0.93	0.88	--	--	--
School Influence	0.91	0.70	0.77	0.70	--	**	--
Science Interest	0.78	0.74	0.50	0.54	**	--	--
Humanities Interest	0.76	0.41	0.54	0.47	--	**	*

Note: Mean scale values represent degree of importance, adjusted for unequal number of items.

0=of no importance, 1=of some importance, 2=of great importance.

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

TABLE 5

MEAN SCORES ON LIFE GOALS INVENTORY

Category	Males		Females		ANOVA		
	Blacks (N=37)	Whites (N=137)	Blacks (N=47)	Whites (N=144)	Sex	Race	SXR
Recreational	3.51	3.68	2.51	3.43	--	--	--
Other	2.89	3.50	2.87	2.89			
Satisfaction	1.79	2.03	1.46	2.82	**	**	--
Material	1.76	1.64	0.72	0.49	*	--	--
Other People	1.70	1.25	2.94	2.78	**	--	--
Omit	1.65	0.63	0.79	0.38	**	**	--
Achievement	1.32	1.60	1.21	1.28	--	--	--
Effectiveness	1.00	0.74	0.94	1.16	--	--	--
Vocational	0.87	0.94	1.09	0.99	--	--	--
Social Service	0.73	0.45	1.66	1.47	**	--	--
Independence	0.60	0.93	1.21	1.10	**	--	--
Domestic	0.50	0.60	1.40	1.81	**	--	--
Academic	0.51	0.46	0.79	0.61	*	--	--
Problem	0.51	0.64	0.74	0.57	--	--	--
Mechanical	0.57	1.23	0.11	0.11			
Household Arts	0.19	0.04	1.23	0.60	**	**	*
Intellectual	0.49	0.48	0.57	0.60	--	--	--
Relaxation	0.30	0.69	0.26	0.45	--	**	--
Persuasive	0.43	0.26	0.13	0.06	**	--	--
Artistic	0.43	0.20	0.02	0.17	*	--	--
Literary	0.30	0.21	0.62	0.46	**	--	--
Outdoor	0.24	0.30	0.23	0.56	--	--	--
Active	0.24	0.22	0.13	0.31	--	--	--
Musical	0.19	0.12	0.19	0.17	--	--	--
Recognition	0.11	0.24	0.43	0.11	**	--	--
Computational	0.11	0.17	0.19	0.18	--	--	--
Scientific	0.03	0.18	0.02	0.09	--	*	--
Armed Forces	0.05	0.04	----	0.01	**	--	--
Clerical	----	----	0.21	0.11	**	--	--

*p < .05
**p < .01

APPENDIX A

DEFINITION OF DETERMINANT SCALES

Each scale measures reported degree of importance in determining immediate post-high school plans.

Conformity--Value of prestige; influence of parents, peers, and relatives.
Academic Value--Influence of classes; value of aptitude for speciality, opportunity for specialization, and satisfaction; interest in ideas and words.
Material Value--Value of practicality, security, potential income, independence and advancement.
Altruistic Value--Value of serving others, self-improvement, and parenthood; interest in children and youth.
School Influence--Influence of teacher, counselor, tests, and career day.
Experience--Influence of work experience, movies and TV, people in field, and work with adults.
Science Interest--Influence of hobby and free time activities; interest in machines, numbers, science, and plants.
Humanities Interest--Interest in music and art.

DEFINITION OF CATEGORIES ON LIFE GOALS

Each category measures the number of sentence completions. Stems are designed to elicit open-ended statements about interests, values, hopes, quests, aspirations and concerns.

Recreational--Leisure time activities such as football, watching TV, writing letters, dancing, reading novels, travel, making love, and being with one's girl friend.

Other--All responses not elsewhere classified such as religious topics, world affairs, personal references, nonsense, and ambiguities.

Satisfaction--A desire for gratification, happiness, interest, liking or enjoyment.

Material--The attainment of some tangible objective such as money, a new car, house, or fur coat.

Other People--Positive statements about friends, other persons or consideration for others, sociality, liking to be with other people, esteeming qualities of friendliness, understanding.

Omit--Any failures to complete sentences.

Achievement--Expressions of goal attainment such as success, accomplishment, doing one's best.

Effectiveness--Desire for smooth functioning, for attractive personal qualities such as ability, charm, or competence.

Vocational--General expressions related to work, career planning or a job, also the future or to one's life role.

Social Service--Helping people, interest in the behavioral sciences such as sociology, psychology, economics; citizenship, enjoying children, foreign peoples; hope to be teacher, doctor, nurse.

Independence--Free to act as one pleases, being on one's own.

Domestic--Family living, marriage, having children.

Academic--Education and formal learning such as liking school, wishing to

graduate, grades.

Problem--Personal problems or feelings of tension; bad health, fear, anxiety, depression.

Mechanical--Activities in which hands, machines or tools are used; as engineering, model cars, or building things.

Household Arts--Homemaking activities such as sewing, cooking, or cleaning. Study of home economics, occupations such as cook, cafeteria manager.

Intellectual--Activities requiring the use of the subject's mental equipment, planning, talking; qualities of originality, curiosity, intelligence.

Relaxation--General emphasis on being relaxed, absence of activity, sleep.

Persuasive--Leadership, control, competition or operation upon others as in selling, business.

Artistic--Creative activities, drawing, designing, architecture, painting.

Literary--Essentially verbal activities such as study of English, history, languages; occupations like writer, lawyer, journalist; writing reports, reading non-fiction or classics.

Outdoor--Specific activities conducted primarily outdoors; such occupations as farming, fishing, veterinarian; hobbies of gardening, hunting, fishing, liking for sea.

Active--Physical activity or variety, keeping busy, disliking routines or passivity.

Musical--Playing an instrument, singing, conducting, enjoying jazz records.

Recognition--Desire for fame, approval of others, acceptance or love from others.

Computational--Number operations as in mathematics, accounting.

Scientific--Biological and physical sciences, physics, chemistry, geology, experimenting.

Armed Forces--Military activities. Interest in Army, Navy, or Marines or in reading about war. Aspirations for military roles such as general, captain, sergeant.

Clerical--Office work requiring precision and accuracy, typing, filing.